MOKO

No 10

A Serious Review

Price 10c up

GET TO HELL OUTA HERE!

For a nation accustomed to exporting its people overseas, even to exhorting each other from time to time to 'get to hell outa here', we have kicked up a devil of a fuss over the exclusion order recently served on Mr. Roland Michener, Governor General of Canada.

A highly emotional reaction has characterised the response to the student demonstration at St. Augustine on the 26th Febraury, 1969. It has been termed by many as 'uncouth', ungrateful, a display of hooliganism and bad manners, 'dangerous stupidity', and countless other epithets. There have been numerous apologies offered and the numerous little men with big offices among us have hastened to condemn the demonstration and to promote measures to deal with the placard-bearing students who prevented the Canadian Governor General from entering the University Campus. The nature of this reaction can only be adequately evaluated and assessed against the colonial and neocolonialist heritage of our society.

SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES

West Indian society is basically a 'welcoming' society. Governments in the region exhort the people to be self-sufficient yet every aspect of their domestic policy promotes dependence. They speak of nationalism, yet perpetuate colonialism. In Trinidad, for example, it was left to expatriates to probe into the extent of subversive activity in the island in 1965, and to foreigners again in 1968 to draw up a development plan for Chaguaramas.

Ours then is the welcoming society in which everything, foreign has an honoured place. Here foreign "experts", foreign aid, foreign investors, preferential tariffs and visitors from abroad are all welcomed, and the 'absentee' capitalist is given a tax holiday 'to boot'.

Unable to effect the economic and social transformation necessary in an era of independence, the Governments of the region have instead surrendered the economic destiny of our people to the foreigner. So we wait for the tourist boats to come in; for the foreign capitalist to invest; and for 'hand-outs' from the U.S. and Canadian Governments, while in the interim, unemployment grows, crime spirals, and the parasitical commercial classes exploit the people by offering inferior items at high prices.

FAILURE

The reaction to the student demonstration basically demonstrates and reemphasises the prevailing 'cult of the foreigner'. The failure of the national Government to tackle effectively the question of unemployment has condemned many of our citizens to seek jobs in Canada as labourers and domestic servants and to suffer discrimination and numerous indignities. Yet the champions of the neocolonialist structure have dared to argue that the UWI student action might rupture the 'good' ties which exist between Canada and the West Indies.

What then must be our final assessment of the St. Augustine student demonstration? Whether Mr. Michener is powerful or powerless, a white "liberal" or a racist, is not the question. Mr. Michener cannot be indicted with any personal responsibility for the George William Affair. The reaction to the demonstration assiduously evades what appears to be the essence of the protest – namely that this was basically a protest of militant, national-minded West Indian students in support of a group of West Indians who allegedly have suffered from racial discrimination in a country of which Mr. Michener is the symbolic head.

It is therefore evident that once more West Indian student nationalism has come into conflict with those elements of our society whose mentality has remained colonised. It is not surprising that the newspapers have been quick to condemn the student action, because the newspapers are under the influence of the domestic forms, both local and foreign, upon whom they depend for advertising revenue.

HISTORICAL AMBITION

The ruling political and economic elite in our society is anachronistic, ideologically bankrupt and fundamentally incapable of evolving new ideas. With the attainment of Independence they have satisfied their historical ambition to occupy top positions in the Civil Service, travel to international conferences, shake hands with visiting diplomats, and be hosts to heads of other states. The black bourgeoisie in our society have therefore been coopted into the traditional elite and have become full members of the cocktail circuit.

Yet to be really meaningful Independence has to mean more than a flag or a national Anthem. To the masses self-government must be an instrument for effecting freedom from hunger and deprivation. Still today the unemployed beg and many go hungry; meanwhile investors in the economy use more and more machines than men.

The reaction to the student demonstration clearly indicates that the colonial minded in our midst, which has already by the introduction of the I.S.A. in 1965 arrested the militant nationalism of our Trade Unions when confronting the international firms, are now seeking to control the militant nationalist ideals of members of the UWI student body. The army is there to control the actions of the ('Marxists' and the unemployed; the ISA controls the actions of the employed; and a 'Code of Ethics' is soon to take effect aimed at controlling the actions of lecturers and students. It is clear that the pigmentocracy of the welcoming society demands reverence to the cult of the foreigner. Nothing must be done to disturb the confidence and mental tranquillity of the foreigner be he investor or visitor.

It is heartening to observe that for the first time a group of militant West Indian students have, however indirectly challenged the assumptions of the 'welcoming society'. It is heartening also to observe that they have received support from a number of local Trade Unions. The student body has at last begun to forge the necessary alliance with the people which hopefully heralds an end to its long period of isolation and alienation.

NATIONALISM

Historically the precedent for militant nationalism in our island was the people's confrontation with the U.S.A. over the Chaguaramas occupation. The new confrontation within our society is long overdue – the confrontation of an allegedly national Government with the foreign Companies which control our economic destiny.

Incidentally, it is rather curious that some of our citizens should be discriminated against in a country in which the 'twin sister' of Port of Spain is said to be situated. Also curious is the fact that these who applauded the exclusion order served on Rodney are now denouncing the similar treatment meted out to Michener with what would seem to be a great deal more justification.

OF ALL THE UPSURDITY

by Clifford Prescott

Every now and then in our fair country some little thing happens and it brings out all our professional critics to scold and advise, and cry shame and to use an old word ugly, and many other good english words as distasteful, treachery Hooliganism, Ungrateful etc.

They sure have them at their disposal to unleash at the slighest opportunity.

As we can recall such events as - THE CAR LOAN. THE AFFAIR with Dr. SOLOMON at the Police Station. The Mysterious disappearance of $56,000 from the Public Transport Service Commission. The Gas Station probe. The every year deficit of the CDC and brother so many other strange or unusual features that occur in Trinidad and Tobago.

Well, well. This time all eyes are focus on UWI. It was the occasion when the G.G. of Canada was on his way to visit the Campus. He met with an unexpecting reception - A Human Blockade of Students with shouts of "OUT".

A simple every day occurence - somewhere in the world in some University which carries some interpretation.

This one – Just plain to understnad.

It was one of JUSTICE, one of vexation – one of courage, one of mettle, one of discrimination against their Black Brothers and Sisters in the Country of which Mr. Roland Michener is G.G. It would not be more appropriate and well timed. It was a Message which Mr. Michener understood.

And forthwith the critics get down to work with what they don't understand.

These students mean business, real business. Very much unlike their parents who lived in all kind of fears. Fears for the colour of skin. Fear for everything.

What they projected in real was "Massa Day Done". Of all the Big mouths the most amusing of all was the Mighty Sparrow and the Hon. M.P. for St. Augustine.

I would deal with the M.P. first. I wonder if this is not the same Hon.Man who took downright advantage on the poor innocent peasants at St. Helena and its surroundings after an act of Nature which brought about a flood and told them in no uncertain manner, Not to Pay Any Tax. Very good representation – this same M.P. who as we see it was trying to say something again is out of line. Not understanding the issue at stake and its purpose thereof, I will suggest to him to try and focus some more time on his much laughable party, and concentrate on Proper Leadership.

I think there are so many other vital issues which the M.P. for St. Augustine can write on that effect the country. Maybe I can suggest at least two to him.

I would welcome hearing him say something on the Jaycees Carnival Show for 1969 maybe he can explore very much the criteria for judging which will give us a lead to know how under Heaven any one of those Queens could of win from

Cont'd on Page Four

SYMBOLS

AIR WHO?

The final in a Two Part Series on the Air the Transport Industry by STEVE DE CASTRO.

The existence of a modern and efficient regionally owned, controlled and operated carrier can help to minimise this external dependence in three main ways. First of all, the regional carrier can help to diversify the industry by developing new tourist markets and new resort areas. A major example is the development of the European market which has formidable potential. No single island's tourist board and/or airline will have the resources to develop this market simply because it involves creating a change of taste in the European tourist.

As this is a major point, I must explain it. It was easy for the Caribbean to tap the North American market as this kind of tourist was quite used, in his own country, to a winter "sun" holiday e.g. Miami, Southern U.S. etc. It was easy for the Caribbean tourist boards to go to New York and hire an advertising agency to "sell the Caribbean". These agencies were selling Miami for years, it was no problem to get the tourist to go a couple of stops further on. The European, on the other hand, takes his "sun" holiday in the summer months,at which time the Caribbean has an image of tropical heat rather than cool winter sunshine. To change this image will cost millions of dollars, an amount which no single Caribbean airline or tourist board can afford. Some of them have tried. The Jamaica Tourist Board opened an office in Frankfurt and had to close it. So did Barbados. It is my view that only a large regional Caribbean carrier, operating in conjunction with a regional tourist Board can be motivated and afford to develop this traffic and remove the dependence on the North American trade.

Grossly Ignorant

The second area in which a regional carrier can help the tourist industry is the development of the off-season and autumn traffic. This market is heavily dependent on the cheaper charter flights. The metropolitan airlines, because of their diversified route structure are not interested in developing this market. A regional airline would be, not only because of the backward linkages to the region's tourist industry but also because it would need to fill its off-season seats.

And finally there is the economic, social and political need for internal Caribbean tourism. Caribbean peoples are grossly ignorant of one another's life style. There are West Indians who have never seen Jamaica, or Guyana or Haiti or Montserrat. No wonder there is so much confusion when they come to do business with one another. Only a regional carrier would be interested in this market as under the bilateral principle I outlined above, it is Caribbean airlines which would have the main access to it. Of course, the hotels of the region will have to learn to cater for the tastes of it own people, a good thing in itself.

Threatened Retrenchment

The Trinidad & Tobago Government nationalised BWIA on 1st November 1961. At the time the two reasons given by the Cabinet releases were firstly this Government's interest in maintaining existing services in the region and secondly to prevent the threatened retrenchment of staff by BOAC if the latter closed down or cut back severely BWIA's operations.

While the first is an apparent demonstration by the Trinidad Government that it had the interests of the West Indian region at heart, the second was almost certainly insular in so far as BWIA's major base and employment happened to be in Trinidad.

Almost as soon as it had carried out the nationalisation, the Trinidad Government attempted to secure the participation of other islands in the new venture. When Manley hinted in a speech that Jamaica might establish its own airline after independence, a Trinidad delegation headed by Ellis Clarke,. was rushed to Jamaica to put proposals for that country's participation in BWIA as an alternative.

Very Reluctant

Jamaica never accepted participation in the new Trinidad nationalised carrier. No other territory ever did. But whereas the Manley Government had argued that Jamaica's tourist industry was better served by the metropolitan carriers, the new Bustamante government soon changed that policy. In 1963, Air Jamaica Ltd. was set up as a company and applied to the U.S. Government for rights to call at Miami and New York. Because for the first three years of its operation, Air Jamaica did not intend to buy its own aircraft but proposed to lease aircraft from BOAC and BWIA in a very involved arrangement with these two airlines, the U.S.Civil Aeronautics Board (C.A.B.) was at first very reluctant to grant it a licence.

For example, the aircraft were not to be leased on a full-time basis, but only for certain hours each day. A BWIA aircraft would fly up from Trinidad to Miami via Jamaica (and other places) as a BWIA service, turn back at Miami and do a shuttle between Jamaica and Miami as Air Jamaica, and then return to Trinidad as a BWIA service. Similarly, for the New York route, a BOAC aircraft would leave London for Lima (Peru) via New York and Jamaica, as a BOAC service. Between New York and Jamaica, it would call itself Air Jamaica, which enables it to pick up more passengers for Jamaica than it would be allowed as BOAC. BOAC was the major beneficiary in this arrangement.

Major Oppisition

The U.S. Civil Aeronautics Board finally gave Air Jamaica a licence for three years starting from Febraury 1966. During these years, Air Jamaica was required to make efforts to acquire its own aircraft.

After the initial three year period, which in fact ended this month it would have to decide whether to become a normal airline or to liquidate the company.

In August last year, the Jamaican Government signed an agreement with Air Canada by which this airline will provide part of the capital, the maintenance facilities and sales outlets which will enable Air Jamaica to buy three aircrafts of its own. This agreement is to last for ten years.

I would like here to record my major opposition to this separatist policy. Jamaica has defended her arrangements firstly by saying that its tourist industry needs the image of a "national" carrier

Secondly whereas BWIA loses several million dollars each year for Trinidad they still made a profit however small out of their paper airline. Thirdly they have saved themselves, at least in the beginning, the need to raise the capital to buy expensive aircraft. I shall deal with these arguments one by one.

First of all the Caribbean territories with national airlines viz., Haiti, Cuba, the Dominican Republic and Trinidad in fact have the worst developed tourist industries in the region. The Bahamas, Puerto Rico and Jamaica itself are the major centres of Caribbean tourism and none of this was built up by national carriers. Up to today, eight years after BWIA was nationalised by Trinidad, if you ask a North American tourist travelling on it, which airline he thinks he is travelling on he will tell you BOAC. This is because BOAC ceased only late last year, to be ticketing and the handling agent for BWIA in the U.S.A. and Canada. Up to today BWIA's operations are still too small to support its own facilities outside the region and has given Trans-World Airways a contract to replace BOAC in the role.

Large Profits

To deal with the second argument, it is my contention that the main reason BWIA loses money is because its scale of operations is too small. It needs to double and even treble the level of its operations to get up to a point where lower unit costs and thus large profits are possible. Only access to the combined Commonwealth Caribbean market can justify this level of operations. In other words, it is partly because Jamaica keeps out, that BWIA loses money.

The final argument is centred around whether Jamaica will benefit more from its relationship with Air Canada than with a regionally owned multi-national carrier. In fact, to make the point even more starkly, BWIA's relationship with TWA will be not dissimilar from Air Jamaica's relationship with Air Canada. In both arrangements, the metropolitan airline and its financial backers will provide most of the capital, the maintenance facilities and the sales outlets.

Facilities

Since it is these three ingredients which effectively determine the control of and the income accruing from an airline, neither of these arrangements satisfy the criteria I have laid down. It is unlikely that either of them separately will ever be able to provide these facilities for themselves. The only way for each participating territory to maximize its income from its airline operations is for this to happen.

The next question, of course, is whether BWIA has a strong case for being considered the base from which to build such a multi-nationally owned regional carrier. Since this is Barbados' question as well, we examine that island's role before answering it.

Barbados has been made out by the press to be the bete-noir of the whole affair. As I have argued, this role is to be allocated mainly to Jamaica for while Barbados has been driving a hard and perhaps self-defeating bargain, Jamaica has refused to bargain at all.

The implication of Barbados' position appears to be that since it has quite a lucrative little market to offer the regional carrier because of its fairly well developed tourist industry, it feels it has a stronger bargaining position than all the rest of the small islands and Guyana put together. It has been exploiting this position to its fullest in all the recent meetings that have been held at both the Heads of Governments and the technical level.

Major Reason

In my opinion, this island has gone too far. No serious attempt has been made by its Government to state clearly what exactly it is hoping to achieve as a result of the bargain. Thus not only is it impossible to assess whether its claims are reasonable, but it has caused the matter to drag on for far too long.

In fact, Jamaica has now been able to use this as an excuse for their decision to deal with Air Canada instead. Lightbourne at his press conference on BWIA at the recent Heads of Government Conference, gave the wrangling between Barbados and the rest of the Eastern Caribbean (who are behind BWIA) as the major reason for Jamaica's refusal to accept the Regional Carrier proposal.

High Revenue

BWIA has been operating in the Caribbean since the war. It started as a feeder service for BOAC to get its passengers to a transhipment point for the longer haul routes. As such it showed, like most feeder service airlines, an operating loss for most of its history. When it was nationalised, a deliberate policy was started to develop more lucrative longer haul extra-regional routes. This policy culminated in the purchase in February 1965 of three modern medium haul Boeing 727 jets at a capital cost of over $30 million TT. Since the higher productivity of these aircraft made most of the Viscount fleet obsolete, and since there was no attempt in the beginning to get rid of these aircraft and the extra staff needed to maintain them, the introduction of the jets did not bring the airline into the black as was predicted.

In my opinion, two further things would have had to be done to achieve this. Firstly, the airline needed to expand its route structure to include such high revenue yielding ones as only Jamaica, the Bahamas or Bermuda could provide And secondly the scale of operations on this expanded route structure would have had to be vastly increased. In fact, this would have enabled the redundant staff to be absorbed in the expansion and no one need have lost their jobs. Instead, we have a situation today where BWIA mechanics are emigrating to Canada, while Air Jamaica is providing jobs indirectly for Canadian mechanics.

BWIA's employment policy has always been a West Indian oriented and not a Trinidadian one. What has been unfortunate is that the skin tone of the West Indians they have chosen especially in the contact jobs such as sales personnel, tended to be the darker shade of pale of what Caribbean historians call the Free Coloured. The new Air Jamaica has proved itself to be of similar bias, because not only did it absorb most of the former BWIA workers at the Jamaican base, but also in its first advertisement for new hostesses recently it specified

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The Rodney and Michener affairs have evoked strikingly similar responses from Press and public. In both cases the sensational side of the affair has been stressed. Students who marched peacefully in Jamaica and students who shouted indeed, but hurled no stones in Trinidad, have both been branded vandals and hooligans. The aim of the Press in both instances has been to convey the impression that the entire society unanimously condemns the University. Indeed, one newspaper found it opportune on two occasions to republish the same letters of censure. As in the Rodney incident, too, support for the students has come only after the Press accomplished its mission of image-destruction.

When the Michener affair broke two weeks ago we had already gone to Press. We had to endure in anguished silence the one-sided hullabaloo arising out of the ban imposed on the Canadian Governor-General at St. Augustine. And we had to endure, too, perhaps, the greatest calamity of all, namely the student split which the circumstances of the ban had provoked. One camp, taking the very reasonable position that the time when West Indian students were languishing in Canadian jails was no time for Mr. Michener to come red-carpeting in at Piarco. And consciously or unconsciously this was a view very much in the minds of many people at St. Augustine.

The question was not whether or not there should be a protest demonstration, but merely what form such a demonstration should take. It was perhaps this attempt to introduce design into a highly emotive situation that gave rise to much of the trouble that later ensued. The dilemma posed by this effort at stage management became runious when, after the demonstration many students took the view that the demonstrators had acted in breach of an agreement reached between the Students Guild Council and the administration that Michener would not be blocked. Whether this was so or not, they had certainly been told by their leaders that there was to be no blockade; and for these students the central issue became, and to an extent still remains, one involving "a breach of faith and destruction of that trust deposited by the Administration in us."

One sympathises with these liberal elements in the student body. Three years ago they wouldn't have bothered to express an opinion on anything. Thus their passive liberalism is a decided advance from an originally neutral state. But one has to criticize them for a lack of perspective and a consequent failure in diplomacy. It was political folly to enter into any sort of agreement with the administration, whose good faith in the issue has been at least as questionable as the students'. Why, for instance, was information about Michener's itinerary withheld, and why was it necessary for the student body to hear about the decision to form a commission of enquiry from the Press rather than from the administration? Wasn't the Mona administration's two-faced behaviour, in supporting then secretly dismissing Dr. Rodney, symptomatic of the general capacity of the University administration to betray both staff and student?

What then, could have been more absurd than a student protest managed, directed and protected by the administration? How easy it is to imagine some university official grinning whitely at Michener and saying in half-apologetic contempt, "And these, you royal highness, are our demonstrators" - as if he were the curator of a zoo showing off a special breed of monkey to upright man!

This, in fact, nearly happened. Michener the polished diplomat, intended to pooh pooh and mamaguy the demonstrators as he did in Barbados. When he asked "Does Canada have no friends here?" and the students answered "NO!", it was the only honest answer they could give. It was better to say "No!" than to watch Michener hold up a placard, as he did in Barbados, to show his disapproval of racial discrimination, and then hear him go on in the next breath to condemn the black students in Canada for smashing the computers — something which the Canadian courts are yet to prove. The students at St. Augustine sensed Michener's lack of good faith, and their uncompromising defiance redeemed their protest at once from absurdity and a sterile "decency"

But it is here that we must criticize the supposed "radicals" among the students for showing the same lack of perspective and diplomacy as the "liberals". There were more effective ways of saying "No!" than the one they adopted. It ought not to have been beyond our students to let Michener speak, and then tear his speech apart, platitude by platitude.

This, however, would have entailed more intelligent and calmer leadership. The Sir George Williams affair should have been placed in the wider context of West Indies — Canada economic and social relationships. (We are not talking here of the idiotic twinning of cities or 'the meeting of queens). Michener was here on a "good-will" visit, but he comes from a country which has shown little genuine goodwill towards our people over the last fifty years. All those schools (pre-fab), teachers, technicians and equipment we are asked to be grateful for, are but paltry compensation for the millions, which Canada has extracted, and continues to extract from Guyana and Jamaica.

To add insult to injury, Alcan and Demba, like Texaco and the big sugar companies, have fostered race, class and caste discrimination in the W.I., and have perpetuated an economic system which demoralizes and dehumanizes black workers, by making them learn to see themselves as the mere tools of a new set of white slave masters. Let us not be so naive as to suppose that Canadian exploitation applies to Guyana and Jamaica, but not to Trinidad. It is only we who see ourselves as separate national entities. Exploiting powers see us as a region and pursue careful and unified policies, while we can come to no common agreement on crucial aspects of our economic life. Our leaders meet, get nothing done, and congratulate each other.

What we are learning from incidents like the Sir George Williams affair, is that in addition to all that blacks have endured at Canada's hands in the West Indies, they will have to suffer further pressures in Canada because of their blackness. As happened in Enoch Powell's Great Britain, the greater the number admitted, the more evident will become the dislike of the white world. Our students then, had much greater cause to say "No" to Michener than they knew or could define.

It is now left to the student leaders to profit from the mistakes made in the Rodney and Michener affairs. They must now sit down and define their perspectives on every matter requiring participation of the student body as a whole. Walking up and down singing "We shall overcome" went out of fashion with the assassination of Martin Luther King. Student protest requires research, conviction based on fact and most of all, self-knowledge. One would like to see the students using whatever radio time they are allowed to present carefully documented statements on things like the banks, the oil, sugar and bauxite companies, the tyranny of the communications media, and the shabby relationship in which we now stand with all those nations which love us so strangely: to wit, "Mother" England, "Uncle" Sam, and "God-father" Canada.

MOKO grew out of the conviction that a fair Press was long overdue in the W.I., and just as our first issue was an attempt to redress the balance of opinion on the Rodney affair by presenting the other side, so our tenth issue is substantially dedicated to doing likewise with respect to the Michener thing. This is for us a kind of anniversary.

MASSA DA

By Y. LORD

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Almost to a man we accepted the conclusion that West Indian students had indeed destroyed the computer. We did not wait for a trial; we did not wait for any apparently impartial presentation of the facts. The white press obviously had tried and condemned them; so did we. This easy acceptance of the so-called "worst possible" in our countrymen reveals that we really have no faith in, no respect for each other. We truly believe that West Indians are hooligans, that they "can't behave", they have to "learn culture" - they are worse than other people.

The same lack of faith in our group was blatantly revealed in our own Press. From the start our students were "riot" students in both newspapers, while the discrimination against which they protested was only "alleged". According to West Indians, in spite of the facts of daily life elsewhere, there is no such racial discrimination. It's not a fact: What deep hypocrisy leads each of us to that we have never been ated against on the grou at home or even in North and, if we could affor perience, we'd maintain South Africa!

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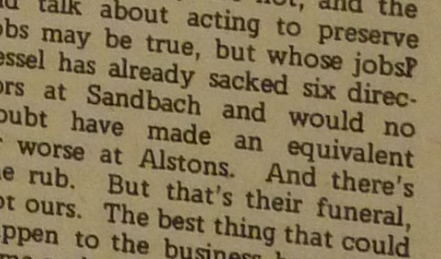
Perhaps it is the res usual out-dated grip on an Western European philos have the illusion that w gress as individuals; tha have some special qual makes us more "accepta "equal" than a fellow bl futile a philosophy this really imagine that the s which is expressed in: behave badly up in C won't be able to get in t to succeed" is truly rea the individual? The p one black is an utter im except in material terms never be respected, neve until his race has progress



(mainly about what we should not call 'George')

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ADVERTISING TAKES SPACE. WE NEED WHAT WE HAVE. PLEASE SEND US A SMALL REGULAR CONTRIBUTION,c/o MOKO ACCOUNT.BARCLAY'S BANK,TUNAPUNA .

JUMBIE

s have evoked strikingly similar responses from
ensational side of the affair has been stressed.
Jamaica and students who shouted indeed, but
e branded vandals and hooligans. The aim
nvey the impression that the entire society
ed, one newspaper found it opportune on
f censure. As in the Rodney incident, too,
ter the Press accomplished its mission of

weeks ago we had already gone to Press.
ne-sided hullabaloo arising out of the ban
at St. Augustine. And we had to endure,
amely the student split which the circum-
ake the very reasonable position that the
ishing in Canadian jails was no time for
arco. And consciously or unconsciously
many people at St. Augustine.

there should be a protest demonstration,
on should take. It was perhaps this attempt
ve situation that gave rise to much of the
ed by this effort at stage management be-
tion many students took the view that the
ement reached between the Students Guild
er would not be blocked. Whether this was
by their leaders that there was to be no
ntral issue became, and to an extent still
and destruction of that trust deposited by

ents in the student body. Three years ago
pinion on anything. Thus their passive
ally neutral state. But one has to criticize
ent failure in diplomacy. It was political
the administration, whose good faith in
the students'. Why, for instance, was in-
and why was it necessary for the student
mmission of enquiry from the Press rather
administration's two-faced behaviour, in
, symptomatic of the general capacity of
ff and student?

than a student protest managed, directed
y it is to imagine some university official
apologetic contempt, "And these, you
were the curator of a zoo showing off a

he polished diplomat, intended to pooh
d in Barbados. When he asked "Does
nts answered "NO!", it was the only
ay "No!" than to watch Michener hold
isapproval of racial discrimination, and
emn the black students in Canada for
Canadian courts are yet to prove. The
ack of good faith, and their uncom-
from absurdity and a sterile "decency"

pposed "radicals" among the students
lomacy as the "liberals". There were
one they adopted. It ought not to
peak, and then tear his speech apart,

telligent and calmer leadership. The
in the wider context of West Indies
e are not talking here of the idiotic
Michener was here on a "good-will"
n little genuine goodwill towards our
s (pre-fab), teachers, technicians and
altry compensation for the millions,
extract from Guyana and Jamaica.

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MASSA DAY NEVER DONE

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The same lack of faith in our group was blatantly revealed in our own Press. From the start our students were "riot" students in both newspapers, while the discrimination against which they protested was only "alleged". According to West Indians, in spite of the facts of daily life here, as elsewhere, there is no such thing as racial discrimination. It's an opinion, not a fact: What deep rooted hypocrisy leads each of us to maintain that we have never been discriminated against on the ground of race at home or even in North America, and, if we could afford the experience, we'd maintain, even in South Africa!

Out-dated Grip

Perhaps it is the result of our usual out-dated grip on an essentially Western European philosophy; we have the illusion that we can progress as individuals; that we each have some special quality which makes us more "acceptable" more "equal" than a fellow black. How futile a philosophy this is! Do we really imagine that the self-interest which is expressed in: "If they behave badly up in Canada, we won't be able to get in to study, or to succeed" is truly realisable for the individual? The progress of one black is an utter impossibility except in material terms. He will never be respected, never be equal until his race has progressed.

Part of the vitriol which has been heaped on the students' heads, both in Canada and here, seems to be motivated by our usual preoccupation: "What will the white world, investors, tourists, think of us?" We have no "inner-directed" standards of conduct, apparently. We don't behave as we think we ought to behave, we are paralysed by the thought that we have to live up to standards of conduct which are set by the white world, standards which even we are not sure we understand and standards which the white world itself rarely upholds. The psychological disturbance caused by this unbearable external image is too well known to be further analysed. We might laugh at the pompous and useless, almost non-human, black Europeans in our midst. But occasions like these reveal that we secretly feel that we should accept for our tutelage their standards of behaviour, not our own, as thinking human beings.

But perhaps we don't think of ourselves as human beings at all. The most common response of those who accept the fact that the students were discriminated against is "If they don't like it why don't they come back home." It is very unsettling to find that this is an exact repetition of what the white man says. Even more disquieting is the sense of inferiority which it reveals. We don't really feel that we are entitled to human rights or civil rights. Those are for the white man - Blacks have duties, no rights. In our own view we're still the uninvited guests at the feast of European culture. All the centuries of labour which our ancestors have given has not entitled us to a share in the society; the rape of the coloured areas of the world must never be compensated for. Might is right - our treatment is justified. Massa day never done, because subconsciously we want it to continue.

Very Amusing

One last thought: How very amusing it must be to Canada to find that it is regarded by us as the acme of toleration, the friend of the black man! This when, to this day, Canadian immigration is discrimination; only students, domestics and very highly skilled blacks are allowed in while thousands of unskilled peasant, Italians, Greeks, (Europeans all who can't speak the language, are not in the Commonwealth) are welcomed with open arms. And even the discriminatory "skilled" clause is a refinement - Up to about 1960 even skilled blacks if they looked black, were not allowed to enter. At this time unskilled peasant Jamaicans who were of German stock and poor white Vincentians had free entry.

Hypocrisy

Nova Scotia has a large, very poor, native black population resident there since the slave trade. Their sufferings and the intransigence of the white population to them has been well-documented. To us, as always, anything which concerns the suffering of blacks is news.

If they do consider, as we fear, "not letting us in" because of the "misbehaviour" of 30-odd blacks out of a population of over 3 million, would they consider prohibiting white south Africans or white Germans for racial crimes? Or are crimes against people less serious than "crimes" against computers? Especially when those "people" are only Negroes or Jews?

Is this what the younger generation has to learn from the older generation? - self-contempt, a grinding sense of inferiority coupled with obsequiousness, "other-directed" codes of conduct, hypocrisy and a compensatory individualism which denies group understanding and group respect?

(mainly about what we should not call 'George')

Times have changed. Those who live by the sword will no longer die by the sword. Is Alston's for or against the free enterprise system? Or, to put it another way, if Jessel Securities Ltd. want to swallow Alstons Ltd of what concern is that to you or me? The photographs published on page three of the Sunday Guardian of March 2 should provide the answer.

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Those who love such things will be tickled black at the news that there is now a part of Tobago which is forever and irrevocably American. The Mt. Irvine golf course, opened by the Prime Minister at the height of the Michener visit and the controversy over discrimination in Canada, reposes on a carpet of green grass imported from Kentucky, U.S.A. We know that tourists thrive on imported food; now they will play on imported grass. We wonder what part of the reputedly $1½ million spent was spent on that frivolity. Not that it will matter to us. Few of us, despite the palaver of every creed and race uttered on the occasion, will ever get the chance to test that boast. Fewer of us, God be praised, will even want to. Still it offends to know that the handful of blacks who will regularly find their way there will do so in the capacity of caddies or starched-stiff flunkeys. That is, of course, when Sir Ellis is absent. He is probably still wondering why he was invited to be first President of the Tobago Golf Club. We know. That situation and all like it needs its 'basic' black.

So Mitchener conveyed the people of Canada's gift to awe-struck Amerindians in Guyana's Rupununi – A block of ice from the snow-capped heights of Montreal. They had never seen ice before, poor people, and didn't know that it melts in our sunshine. Symbolic.

"I fear the Greeks especially when they bring gifts" the Roman poet wrote . . . But our people in Guyana said it better. . "Bacra jus' like cow-dung; he top dry, he bottom wet."

"The house negro identified with the master more than the master identified with himself."

According to Malcolm X's analysis, Trinidad has the most house negroes in the Caribbean. Our response to the Michener affair proves it . . . Yes baas . . . And the University Academic Board has appointed a Committee, whose first job ought to be to investigate the Academic Board . . . and the Administration . . . Yes baas . . .

The whole thing drives us to poetry. . *

THE COLONIAL ROUND

'You gave me language, and
my profit on't
Is I know how to curse.'
(Caliban: *The Tempest)*

The massa cuss the missie
And the missie cuss the maid,
Who mutter that her fate was very hard.
Then the maid she cuss the houseboy
And the houseboy cuss he brother
Who sweep the leaf that blow down in the yard.
But the yard-boy he was clever
So he ups and cuss the parrot,
And the parrot cuss forever
But he met up with disaster
The day he cuss the master.

C.T.G.!!!

Selvon On Stage

Samuel Selvon has been so often seen as a light-hearted humorist with a good ear for the sharpness and lyricism of Trinidad speech, that one can forget his melancholy side. Derek Walcott did not, and his aim in producing "The World of Samuel Selvon" was clearly to indicate the pathos beneath the laughter. Significantly, he used Kitchener's blue London Kaisos as background music, suggesting that both Selvon and Kitch have been products of the stress and warmth of life in Trinidad, and the rootlessness of existence abroad.

It may have been, also, that in seeking out the tragi-comic potential of Selvon's folk, he infused some of his own dispossession on their lives. "Ordinary" scenes began to assume symbolic proportions. In Razor Blade's experience, for example, one was able to witness how kaiso was begotten in poverty, hunger and frustration, and thus to understand the evasive stoicism of calypso laughter.

Razor Blade emigrates, and immediately becomes Brackley, in the grave-yard of his gloomy London basement flat, or Captain in his garrett. In London the anxieties of identity and purpose which the boys knew in the tropics is deepened. One can't escape the blues through picong. The grim mime "Seagull" contained all the tragic absurdity of the emigrants experience in the cold north. To survive, Captain must catch the sea gulls which perch on his window-sill. If he opens the window, he will freeze with the cold, if he doesn't he will starve. Survival is pure pain. It is the Beckettian Absurd situation. The seagull becomes the object which all those aliens are trying to achieve in exile, identity, or success. This was Walcott interpreting Selvon.

Moses feels the loneliness of the boys, watching them trying to make a calypso of life. But, no High Priest, he is unable to lead them out of the wilderness, and thus, alone, wonders off the stage.

MOKO

No 10

A Serious Review

Price 10c up

OF ALL THE UPSURDITY

• From Page One

Miss Ebony - she surpass them, outlook them, and Brother – You could of seen, How Black was Beautiful. Hats off to the Mighty Duke for reminding them.

But as the M.P. would not dare to say, that show is specially designed for the suppose white skin people of our Society.

Racialism in all its ugliness. Racialism in all its purpose. Racialism as it was always in Trinidad But the Hon. M.P. would not know how to begin an article of the kind.

Too hot to handle, but to the poor unsuspecting people of St. Helena – Don't pay Taxes, which as he and he alone can see, is very good representation. would also like him to tell the country something of the reason why the Price Control pick on an outside horse like Sweet Drinks putting the entire Industry into mass confusion and adding the figures by the Thousand to our Happy bunch of unemployment which resulted in more hardship on the little man.

Good Home Work

Let's hear you sir. A very good subject for an M.P. I believe you can suggest to the controllers to think of the more vital commodities viz.– Milk, Flour, Sugar, Bananas, Orange, Etc. thing that the poor man need every day for his Family – but my God. Sweet Drinks? A real Laugh –

I think those two items Mr. M.P. is good home work for some time. To channel your appetite for talk and leave the students with their job which they and they alone can undertake.

And now – the Mighty Sparrow. Ha Ha Ha – According to an old Calypso by one of the Greats the Mighty Spoiler – Rum Baccanal – "and Mountain Dew Jumpin the Brew" Of all the Upsurdity. Sparrow and all advising University Students. How to behave what to do what they should not do, well well well This is really Trinidad, where everything is Calypso. Hear how Sparrow start. He glad he did not attend a University.

Sparrow Really Dead

I think here is where I should compliment the Mighty Power for his Calypso this year that send him to the Dimanche Gras "Sparrow really dead." The Mighty Power surely know what he is speaking about. I would like to pose a single question to the Mighty Sparrow. When he was those students age –what was he doing? Say it loud! Don't be afraid let all Trinidad know a little more of you apart from your smutty and "Bad John" Calypso.

We can all remember how you came into being a real Smut. One on which you took a pleasure to "Run Down" our woman Folk of the country. It was so nasty it was banned from playing on the air.

That send you off to the utmost of all the smuttiest of smut you can think off. Can I remind the public of just a few. Mr. Benwood Dick, Gunslingers, Ten to One is Murder, Renegades – The Village Ram.

I can go on and on with the type of Image you try to project. You remember the night you were beaten by the Mighty Dougla, we can all recall your behaviour.

Will you tell us some thing of the Affair. At the race meeting – the one which you were so bold face to make a Calypso off – "An Ah liff he up High High High". Why do you want your mails at the Royal Jail? is because your intention is one of Hooliganism – so you do not care, or afraid of jail – thats you in one of your "Bad John" Calypso.

After you was acquitted of the shooting case you boasted in Ten to one is Murder. That was Sparrow in Full Cry. Again we can remember the end of that Bad John Calypso.

"Bod ow Bow"

which is to interpret, what we can. Ha ha ha Should we come a little nearer home 1969 Calypso Season.

You was at your very worst – Should I recall the Lizard – Brother that was smut. Sar-Sar-Yay. You don't dare give us the English pronounciation Real smut. and 50,000,000 Frenchmen I will like to make my own analysis of the Frenchman – Dirty – Nasty – Shame – That just three for 69.

You are doing a good job for our young and coming nation. What happened at the UWI, St. Augustine is miles and miles away from your imagination, this is a new generation. Who can not take the suffering of our forefathers.

What happened there is the beginning of a new horizon, a new era, The action taken by the students spells a very great beginning of Greater things. I am of the strong opinion that the students themselves are not aware of the very great responsibility which lies ahead for them. It is a strong force driving them to the final stage of the eradication of slavery. That "Inward Hunger" for Fair Play, – for Justice for Love, – for freedom. From discrimination, it is in their blood, in their entire selves – they just can't resist; the time has reached. Are we the older ones expecting these young people to follow in our footsteps, Turning the other cheek? We had to, we were afraid - afraid of our twenty cents a day job for which we had to work from sunrise to sunset.

We had to be humble. We had to force to smile when we should curse. Here is where I have to compliment the Mighty Sparrow for his Calypso - "The Slave."

These students are still feeling "The Whip" of their forefathers the slave masters.

A Stand For Justice

The Mighty Zebra's Calypso on Ian Smith in "Rhodesia" for 1969 was a Gem. It was really the close follow up of the Mighty Cypher's own rendition of "That man Ian Smith." – whom we describe as the most nasty pirate for all time. We can also take a close look at South Africa–the Southern States of U.S.A. and a host of other places where the black man is treated not as a human being. That is why I congratulated Cassius Clay on his stand. – A winner of a Gold Medal for his country, to be told he cannot enter a cafe.

As these younger ones see it our Brothers and Sisters are being locked up in prison in Canada in the heights of winter, to be in Jail! – as a result of taking a stand for Justice. Can we put ourselves in the minds of these children's parents here at home – thousands of miles away and not be near enough to comfort them.

Come now Sparrow lets have a clean Calypso of the affairs in Canada. I know you can make it, or else try.

Mr. M.P. for St Augustine do a little more looking at Trinidad–take a look at one of our Minister going against the Law of our country to encourage Cock Fighting. Is that fair? take a good look at the Gas Station Probe– why is not some one arrested. Don't be afraid – Say it out loud leave the students to look after their own business Its a hard fight they have on hand they are not hooligans I know quite a lot of those children parents law abiding, people who live in the Love of God. Social Workers, people who are assets to our Community.– These children are aspiring to be the caretakers of our country.

They have given the Governor General a message which I know he understands quite well, to be taken back home, which he is going to do. It could not be done otherwise. A good job well done.

CHESS

By "OTTO"

In last week's column we provided diagrams of the chessboard and of the pieces or men with which the game is played. No attempt was made to do anything with the board or with the pieces. Now, however, we are going to match men and board. Let us see what we get.

Traditionally white plays first. For the time being we shall honour that tradition. We may wish to read about the game and should not change the rules too soon. Later, however, we may.

With the board before us, white square in the right hand corner, we begin to place the white pieces on the row of squares running across the board nearest to us.

First then let us look at the two corner positions nearest to us. Now we look for the two rooks or castles. We place one in each corner.

Then we take the two knights or horses. We place one on each of the two squares nearest the rooks.

We take the two bishops and we put one on each of the two squares nearest the knights.

Now we have two squares left in the middle of the board, one white and the other black. We also have two pieces, the white queen and the white king.

We take the white queen and put it on the white square: the queen always goes "on her own colour", white queen on white square, black queen on black square. The king we put on the remaining square.

We have now completed setting up the back row (or rank).

There are eight pieces left; these are our pawns. In the conception of the game they are the smallest and most insignificant pieces on the board. Sometimes, though, they become very important. We put them one by one on the eight squares immediately above the row we have just set.

All the white pieces have now been placed. Only the black remain and we set them at the other end of the board, the rooks, knights, bishops, king and queen on the row furthest from us, the pawns on the row just in front of that one. Take care to put the black queen on the black square.

When we look across the board now rooks should face rooks, knights should face knights, bishops should face bishops, queens should face queens, and kings, kings. The pawns, too, should face each other.

The board should now look like this:

What we do from here on depends on two things. First of all, what we do will depend on our own gifts, on things like skill, imagination and resource.

Secondly, it depends on what the pieces can legally do. What they can legally do will establish what their potential is and what limits there are on what we can do with them. We are under no compulsion to obey except that those are the rules and they seem reasonable. We will obey them. No bobol.

AIR WHO

From Page Two

that only girls of good complexion need apply. After a public uproar, in which the Minister threatened to resign, the ad was withdrawn.

In making my case for BWIA, I must not overstate it. I am not implying that if BWIA is allowed to implement all the things I have suggested in this article and become the regional carrier that it will be able to undertake immediately and profitably all its own sales, maintenance and capital arrangements. What I am implying is that starting from this base one can more quickly reach such a point that with any other strategy including the present one.

Let me at this point, therefore, state quite clearly that I am advocating the creation of a regional airline, owned and operated by the countries of the region and having access to the traffic which each of the nations contributing to the airline shall have under the bilateral principle. There are many small nations in the world today that have got together to own and run multi-nationally owned regional airline.

Perhaps the most famous and successful one is SAS, the Scandinavian Airline System which is owned and operated since 1950 jointly by three small European nations - Denmark, Norway and Sweden. Formed from three small national airlines these nations have been able to work out an arrangement among themselves such that they have been able to build an airline which is modern, efficiently run, and which serves the economic and other policies of these nations where otherwise they would have had no possibility of having a policy at all.

Tourism is already a major industry in the Caribbean. Unless the Caribbean takes control of it it will not only leave the region in its traditional position of having yet another major industry externally determined, but it is highly likely that it will engulf us completely. A modern, efficient and large air carrier owned and controlled from within the region would be a major weapon in the fight to gain this control. The present Governments in the Caribbean appear to be unable to conceive this vision much less to fulfill it.

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